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New Horizons * R.P.D.

Germany and Europe * Dr. Joseph Wirth

Labour Party Boomerang * E. M. Winterton

Goa *

Reply on the First International * Karl Marx

A Visit to Charlie Chaplin * S. Gerasimov

September, 1954
One shilling and sixpence

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AMONGST THOSE PRESENT

WHEN the Trades Union Congress meets this month, if shop steward Frank S——— is among the delegates I think he will try to catch the Chairman's eye when German rearmament is discussed. For he has a tale to tell, if he can yet bring himself to speak of it. On a late summer day 14 years ago, as the siren went, the workers in his vast aircraft factory trooped into the shelters. It wasn't for the first time. They sat there calmly enough, joking, reading, playing cards, waiting for the All Clear. The Nazi bombers came. They circled once, released their bombs and flew back across the blue sky to the Third Reich. No atom or hydrogen bomb these, but enough to wipe out practically every man in a direct hit on the toolmakers' shelter. Young Frank survived. For the next three days he took part in the almost impossible job of identifying the remains of his workmates. His task was to sort out their sets of tools; some might yet be claimed by men who proved to be out sick or on holiday. The unclaimed must be returned to the relatives of those ultimately posted as Missing; there were well over 200. I do not think that Frank has forgotten that day. I believe he will feel himself to be spokesman for those mates who 'through circumstances beyond their control' are unable to be among those present at Congress. They are not eligible to vote; but I do not think their votes will fail to count.

Those right-wing leaders who are reduced to supporting E.D.C. on the ground that 'the Germans' intend to rearm anyway, so let it be done under 'safeguards', are answered by a prominent West German elder statesman, ex-Chancellor Wirth, whose extremely important exclusive article appears on page 399. His statement, together with Dr. John's revelations about the reinstatement of the Nazis and the secret clauses to the Bonn Agreement, should be the final eye-opener.

The Midget

BUT eyes do not open of their own accord; they have to be opened. One of the most indefatiguable eye-openers I know is a trade unionist friend of mine who is always on the job. A recent example: after getting home from his union annual conference the other day, he wrote to 14 fellow delegates in all parts of Britain, whom he had met there for the first time, and sent them specimen copies of LABOUR MONTHLY. He explained: *'I myself would not be without it, find it invaluable and have taken this action because I believe you will too.'* We are always glad to send out specimen copies in this way: hence the form on the back cover. And now we have produced a nobby little quarter-sized Midget L.M. made up of 32 pages of photographs of actual articles appearing recently. If keen circulation-raisers like to write in to me for one, I

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Notes of the Month

NEW HORIZONS

'The Foreign Secretary (Mr. Eden) used the remarkable phrase "peaceful co-existence". This fundamental and far-reaching conception certainly had its part in some of our conversations at Washington, and I was very glad when I read, after we had left, that President Eisenhower had said that the hope of the world lies in peaceful co-existence of the Communist and non-Communist Powers.'

Sir WINSTON CHURCHILL in the House of Commons, July 12, 1954.

IT moves. A great change has begun in the world situation. This change is still only at its beginning; there are many hurdles in front. But the developments of the past few months are in many respects the most significant and hopeful since the end of the war. The fortieth anniversary of the first world war was celebrated, not with a new plunge into deepened war, as the Dulles plan of April had intended, but with a victory for peace and the first cessation of major wars in the world (not yet of the minor wars, especially in Malaya and Kenya, where it must be our concern to see that a just peace shall also conquer) for 23 years. At Geneva a major conference of the Powers has ended, for the first time since the war, not in

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deadlock, but in agreement, thereby opening the way for new negotiations for peace in Europe. The opening of the first atomic power station in the world by the Soviet Union has revealed before mankind the vista of limitless creative advance and abundance in place of the hag-ridden nightmare of atomic wars and 'broken-backed' struggle for survival. Premier Churchill has proclaimed 'peaceful co-existence' as the doctrine of the Western Powers. Premier Adenauer's own Chief of Intelligence has laid bare with unrivalled authority the war plans through rearming Nazism and called for an alternative policy for a peaceful united Germany. President Eisenhower has rebuked the extreme advocates of aggressive war in the United States. Mr. Attlee has exchanged cordial friendly toasts with Premier Malenkov and Premier Chou En-lai, thereby dealing a blow to the cardboard monsters of the traditional mythology of Transport House and McCarthy. This new situation calls for fresh thinking from all sections without exception to meet the new possibilities with a constructive response. Even the Bourbons of the extreme right wing of Labour would do well to think afresh, lest they find themselves out on a limb with the Rhees and the Chiangs and the refuse of history. For this new world situation has placed the ball at the feet of British Labour today as never before, when the representatives of the working-class organisations meet in the fateful conferences this September at Brighton and at Scarborough.

Four Years of Change

The deepest sense of responsibility in this new world situation should govern the debates at Brighton and Scarborough, and rule out the old hackneyed and obsolete 'cold war' claptrap. What has made possible the hopeful change in the world situation which all can feel today? It has not come of itself. Only the most patient, tenacious, skilful leadership and united effort, on the part of all those in all countries who refuse to accept the 'cold war' division of the world into two armed camps sliding into an inevitable third world war, has gradually, inch by inch, won this change and measure of relaxation of international tension. These past four years have shown that the struggle for peace is not in vain. Four years ago the war offensive was at its height. The combined imperialist assault on Korea had been launched. The Atlantic Pact had been organised to take over the legacy of Hitler's Anti-Comintern Pact as a mighty military coalition, this time under American leadership, against the countries of socialism and people's democracy. Gigantic rearmament programmes were initiated with lavish American

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financial subsidies. The American plan for Nazi rearmament was forced on the unwilling satellite British and French Governments, which had but a few months earlier pledged themselves to oppose it. International trade was hamstrung with an elaborate extending system of 'cold war' trade bans to strangle the economies of the rising countries of socialism and people's democracy. Every proposal for negotiation, for banning atomic weapons, for reducing armaments, for relaxing trade bans, was met with a rigid unyielding self-righteous negative. The American coalition spoke as the predestined arbiter of the world's future. The only discussion among the publicists of the Western Powers was as to the precise terms to be imposed on the recalcitrant third of the world which had chosen Communism when the time came to 'liberate' them. Millions of copies of the most widely publicised American magazine displayed on its front cover the future American Army of Occupation striding across Moscow and Leningrad. Such was the climate of four years ago. How many then would have dared to predict the present world situation?

Victories for Peace

In the face of this unpromising situation, step by step the fight for peace has inched its way. First, Korea. The war on Korea ended in fiasco for the aggressors. The Korean war did not become the starting point for extended war in the Far East and the reconquest of China, as the Bradleys, MacArthurs, Clarks and Knowlands had dreamed. Despite devastation, the Korean people remained unbroken. After three years the cease-fire was won; and, although the discredited Rhee regime still tyrannises South Korea, the cease-fire can and must become the starting point for a united democratic Korea. The Korean armistice was the first victory for peace. Then came the restiveness of Britain and France under the American stranglehold, the Churchill speech in May of last year for a Great Power meeting, and its partial outcome in the Four Power Conference of Foreign Ministers at Berlin. Although the rigid prior Bermuda decisions immobilised Berlin and prevented genuine negotiation, it was a beginning. Berlin prepared the way for Geneva, with the meeting of the five Powers. A supreme effort to wreck Geneva was launched with the South-East Asia crisis in the spring and the Dulles plan for extended joint imperialist war in South-East Asia. Nehru has told us how the world in April was on the brink of full-scale atomic and hydrogen bomb war. But the revolt of Britain defeated the Dulles plan. American defection could no

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longer wreck Geneva, which revealed how genuine and sincere negotiation between the Powers could succeed, as soon as the Dulles spanner was removed from the works. The Vietnam cease-fire followed in July. This was the second great victory for peace.

The Supreme Testing—Europe

And now the third and supreme test opens—to win the peace for Germany and Europe. If we can defeat the plan for Nazi rearmament in a permanently partitioned Germany, end the partition of Germany and Europe, and win collective security for all Europe, then the road is open to international co-operation, with all that must follow—the entry of China into the United Nations, the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the reduction of armaments and the banishment of the overhanging fear of a new world war. Then, and then only, we can confidently move forward to the resumption of Labour's true aims for social advance. Such is the supreme choice before the delegates at Brighton and Scarborough.

New Alignments

If this first partial beginning of a change towards a new orientation and a more hopeful future has been achieved, it has been made possible, not only because of the deep will of all the peoples for peace, but also because of a profound shift in objective conditions and the real relations of strength in the world during this period. All the assumptions of the American war coalition and grand war strategy are now visibly breaking down. This is not merely true in respect of the technical and physical conditions, as most signally demonstrated in the collapse of the myth of atomic superiority. It is also demonstrated in the profound changes within the countries of the attempted American war coalition. The faded bogy of an imaginary menace of a Soviet military offensive, under cover of which bogy it was attempted to whip up the peoples of Western Europe for support of the war plans, has given place to the real and justified fears of the openly declared aggressive war aims of powerful sections in United States military and political circles. Guatemala and the South-East Asia crisis have increased this alarm. India has led the revolt of the nations of Southern Asia against the American war plans. Britain and France have begun to follow in Europe.

New Trends in Britain and France

Despite all the indignant denials when Stalin's famous prediction of the future course of Britain and France was first published in 1952, and vehement protestations that Britain and France would

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never fall into such an obvious Communist trap, and would never, never, never seek to free themselves from the embrace of the beloved American saviour and patron, in practice, step by step, Britain and France have hesitantly begun to travel along the Stalin road, and have discovered remarkably beneficial results and increased self-confidence to the extent that they have done so. Britain's No to Dulles in April was an historic moment, leading to speculations in the American press about the end of the Anglo-American alliance. France's rejection of Laniel and choice of Mendès-France to make peace in Vietnam was a first step along the road to deeper political change ('We are in 1788', was the declaration of Mendès-France when he became Premier). Eden, Molotov, Mendès-France and Chou En-lai found that they could get on remarkably well together at Geneva, once Dulles was away. The United States, so far from leading a triumphant war coalition, finds itself increasingly isolated, at loggerheads with and bitterly complaining against its satellites and allies, relying only on the Rhees, Adenauers and Chiangs, and in an unconcealed dilemma over future policy.

Time for New Thinking

In this new world situation Britain has begun, as shown at Geneva—with whatever deficiencies, limitations and contradictions —to find the first signs of a positive and independent role, alongside India, in world politics, in place of being merely a cipher under American orders. It is the shame and disgrace of the present dominant leadership of the labour movement that this first initiative should have been left to Churchill, Eden and a Tory Government. The price of this, even measured in the narrowest electoral calculation, which Mr. Morrison should be capable of understanding, was shown in the loss of Sunderland on the day after the Churchill speech of May 11 last year—the first example for 30 years of a Government gaining a seat from the Opposition in a by-election. On a broader basis the price is shown in all the deficiencies of execution of such a policy by a Tory Government—the senseless bullying of France over E.D.C., the many continuing surrenders, the Cort case and Klimovicz case, the record in Cyprus or Kenya, etc. The situation calls aloud for Labour to stand in the forefront for peace and independent national leadership. Labour's future in the present era depends on such a new orientation.

Let the Realists be Realist

It is to be hoped that Mr. Attlee, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Bevan will bring back with them from their visit to the Soviet Union and to

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China some sense of the new situation and the new possibilities. For it is not the fault of the rank and file that Labour has so far been slow to respond to the tremendous new opportunities which now open out. They have been pressing for a new orientation with a vehemence never before paralleled in the history of the labour movement. The agenda of Brighton and Scarborough reveals this once again, that the battle of Morecambe and Margate is rising to a still higher stage. But the obstruction of the extreme right-wing clique still in control has hitherto barred the way to every step forward. The extreme right-wing clique have preferred to range themselves with the Salisbury faction of Toryism in resisting every advance and repeating with monotonous iteration the outworn 'cold war' shibboleths and the American gramophone record. Mr. Morrison and Mr. Gaitskell like to think of themselves as realists. Let them be realist enough to free themselves from the American gramophone record and recognise that Labour's leadership in the coming era will depend on the capacity to present a constructive policy for Britain in the new world situation.

Obsolete Shibboleths

The dusty denizens of Transport House still believe that the pious repetition of the moth-eaten catchwords of the era of the Atlantic Holy Alliance, 'cold war', and all the familiar anti-Soviet follow-America formulas will serve as a substitute for a policy today. Their pamphlet in favour of Nazi rearmament is hidebound in this conception of the world. It is not surprising that the repetition of this gramophone record by the right-wing speakers at the Regional Labour Conferences has received short shrift from the mass of Labour Party delegates, and that they feared to take a vote. These shibboleths were always a false and dangerous deception. But today their repetition has become as irrelevant to the problems of the present world situation as the recitation of the Koran. For all the assumptions of the American War Alliance and the grand war strategy have today become more and more manifestly discredited and bankrupt.

Bankrupt Assumptions

What were these assumptions? First, the 'cold war' assumption of the inevitable division of the world into two opposed armed camps, with its inescapable corollary of an eventual third world war, towards preparation for which every effort should be strained and every calculation in international politics directed. Second, the myth of the menace of a Soviet armed offensive to overrun Europe and the

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world, as the justification to induce the populations of the Western world to accept every sacrifice of their vital needs in the higher interests of rearmament and the American war plans, and thus to conceal the facts of aggression, invasion of other countries, and establishment of bases all over the world, in the name of 'defence'. Third, the military assumption of the invincible atomic superiority of the American coalition, and of atomic strategy as the strategy of victory; and the consequent concern to maintain the use of atomic and all similar horror weapons as the supreme weapons of Western civilisation, and arrogant tone of omnipotence in all conferences to lay down only rigid pre-arranged formulas and refuse negotiation. Fourth, the economic assumption of overwhelming economic and financial superiority of the American coalition, and consequent capacity to buy allies all over the world with subsidies, and to hamstring the reconstruction of the war-ravaged countries of socialism and people's democracy by the refusal of trade in all key materials or machinery. Fifth, the final assumption of the outcome of the whole programme, on the basis of completed rearmament and invincible atomic superiority, to stage a 'showdown' with the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, *i.e.*, to lay down terms of dictation for them to accept with the obvious alternative of war. Such was the elaborate edifice of assumptions of the American war coalition and its grand war strategy. The whole of this edifice is now in ruins.

Re-defining 'Aggression'

Take, first, the military assumptions. The myth of the impending Soviet armed offensive, which was never believed by its authors, has been publicly abandoned and repudiated by every responsible Western strategist and political spokesman. The menace of 'aggression' is now openly declared to be the menace of popular movements advancing within countries, especially in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

> The difficulty is not so much military aggression. The West is up against ideological aggression which, by taking advantage of poverty and distress in under-privileged areas seeks to gain domination over the mind of man.
>
> (Clifton Webb, New Zealand Minister for External Affairs, July 6, 1954.)

> The most formidable problem which SEATO may be confronted with is not a renewal of external aggression in the area but progressive subversion from within the Asian countries . . . therefore the device of drawing the line along a national boundary may be of less importance than the creation of some joint means to counter internal subversion in any country where it is threatened.
>
> (*Observer*, July 4, 1954.)

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The examples of British Guiana and Guatemala have further demonstrated this new definition of 'Communist aggression' in the minds of the principal Atlantic Treaty Powers. In particular, the experience of the American-organised war on Guatemala has demonstrated the peculiar conception of 'Soviet aggression' in the minds of the men in the State Department and the Pentagon, when such 'aggression' has been held to arise from a progressive popular majority in a parliament elected by universal suffrage, and the 'defence of Western civilisation' to consist in armed invasion and bombing to replace democratic institutions by a military dictatorship.

Atomic Bluff Called

But if the myth of the menace of Soviet aggression has thus dissolved into frank and vulgar counter-revolution, the parallel myth of atomic superiority, of the atom bomb as the 'Great Deterrent' and 'dread guardian shield' of Western civilisation, has equally vanished—except in the antediluvian imagination of some fossilised Air Marshals who have not yet woken up to the facts of life. With the thermo-nuclear explosion in the Soviet Union in August, 1953, it was revealed that the tables were turned on the atomic warmongers, and that the 'Great Deterrent' had become the 'Great Bluff':—

> It is my view that the efficacy of the Great Deterrent—supposed atomic superiority—as the main basis of British and American military policy became extremely doubtful as soon as the U.S.S.R. started to acquire a sizeable stockpile of ordinary A-bombs. Now that we have to assume approximate H-bomb equality, I believe the theory and practice of the Great Deterrent is in a fair way to becoming the theory and practice of the Great Bluff.
>
> (Professor P. M. S. Blackett, *New Statesman and Nation*, August 14, 1954.)

'End of a Whole Era of American Military Policy'

But the entire Atlantic strategy was based on the assumption of atomic superiority. When this falls, the structure collapses. It is not surprising that all the American military experts are now discussing this dilemma of American military policy. As the American military commentator, Walter Millis, has written in the *New York Herald Tribune* of June 25, 1954:—

> Out of the Defence conference at the Marine base of Quantico over last week-end there came something which sounded very much like the end of a whole era of American military policy.
>
> It came with the warning from Mr. Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defence for Research and Development, that our technological

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position vis-a-vis the Soviets is less favourable than it was a year ago. . . .

Our 'margin of advantage has been narrowed'; we can no longer rely on any very long timespread between our own technological advances and the appearance of their counterparts in the Soviet Union; and we must abandon the hope—which blossomed in so many minds after 1945—that we can ever by some strike of technological ingenuity assure a permanent military superiority over the Kremlin.

At Quantico there seemed to be a clearer realisation than ever before that we cannot find a solution of the grim war problem in technology. . . . This is a kind of race in which it is useless to look for a clear 'win', in which we may at times be as far behind in some respects as we are ahead in others, and from which it is fantastic to hope for any sort of final mastery of permanent supremacy.

If the American military experts are searching for a solution to this problem in the military sphere, they are seeking to square the circle. The solution can only be found in the political sphere. The conclusion to which this analysis inescapably points is a political conclusion. If the myth of military 'permanent supremacy' has to be abandoned, then the only conclusion is to drop the dreams of omnipotence and dictation and to begin to negotiate genuinely on a basis of equality. But this means that the entire Atlantic 'cold war' programme of 1947-54 has to give way to the new (for the West) principle of 'peaceful co-existence'.

Atomic Power

The decisive change in the balance of strength in the world, however, goes very much deeper than this collapse of the Western myth of military atomic superiority. The most significant new fact for the future was not the thermo-nuclear explosion in the Soviet Union. It was the opening of the first atomic power station in the Soviet Union on June 27, 1954. This is a key date for the history of civilisation. While the Western Powers have concentrated on the military use of atomic energy, the Soviet Union—at the same time as giving sufficient attention to the military aspect to checkmate the Western bellicose ambitions and reinforce the campaign for the ban—has concentrated on the peaceful use of atomic energy and left the Western countries completely behind in this field. The first American power station, according to official announcements, is not due to be in operation before 1957. The first British atomic power station is not expected to be ready before two to two and a half years. But the creative use of atomic energy unlocks the key to the future for the decisive mastery of nature and the provision of abundance. Not without reason the Chairman of the United States Congressional Atomic Energy Commission expressed their alarm last October:—

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> Nothing could be more devastating to our national prestige than an announcement by the Kremlin that the Soviets had developed peace-time atomic power.

That was before the announcement. The announcement has now come. We stand on the eve of developments which will dwarf our present problems. In this new era of creative human advance Soviet civilisation is leading the way.

Crisis of the War Camp

In this situation it is not surprising that a crisis should develop in the Atlantic war camp, as all the old assumptions are found to be exploded (and, indeed, only the Ancients of Transport House appear to be completely unaware of the new facts). The American war measures are still actively pressed forward, as in the imperialist conference in the Philippines for a South-East Asia military pact, the new 'Balkan' military pact of Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, or the chain of military treaties to turn the Middle East into a war base. The war menace is by no means yet abated. But it is obvious to all that the Soviet Union, China and the European People's Democracies are overwhelmingly concentrating their efforts on constructive economic development and on raising living standards, and that therefore—in the recognition of every observer, irrespective of political outlook—their supreme interest is in the maintenance of peace. It is equally obvious that the main menace of war today arises from the openly proclaimed aggressive aims of a section of powerful military and political figures in the United States, who have responded to the present situation by demanding vociferously an immediate 'preventive' war to let loose the atomic and hydrogen bombs on the productive centres of the socialist world before their economic development and advance in living standards will have outstripped the capitalist world ('the greatest menace of the twentieth century', according to a prominent American business magnate). It is equally obvious to all that such a war would be suicidal lunacy, as President Eisenhower has himself had to recognise. Hence the cement of the American war coalition begins to crumble. The 'partners' of the American war coalition begin, not yet openly to challenge their bondage, but to seek to loosen a little their bonds. In the South-East Asia crisis Britain and France for the first time defied and resisted an aggressive American war plan. They have begun to find a common language with the Soviet Union and China for peace at Geneva, and for common economic trading interests. They beg for some relaxation of the trade bans. What applies to

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them applies still more to the semi-colonial world. All Asia was stirred to revolt against the American war plans. Opinion throughout Latin-America was angered by the treatment of Guatemala.

New Currents in Japan

This crisis begins to extend also to the more directly satellite countries of the American Empire—Japan and West Germany. A wave of anger sped through Japan over the still continuing consequences of the Bikini explosions to the civilian population. The popular movement of resistance to rearmament and the American occupation continues to rise. With the worsening economic situation ('Japan's economy has entered the first stage of bankruptcy', wrote the leading organ, the *Mainichi Shimbun,* in July), and with the desire to extend trade with China and Eastern Asia, influential Japanese ruling-class circles have begun increasingly to question the American orientation and demand a more elastic manoeuvring policy between what are described as the British and American trends in international affairs.

Adenauer's Basis Weakening

Still more significant is the developing situation in Western Germany and the increase of opposition, both below and above to the American-backed règime of Adenauer and his Nazi colleagues. For the first time since the war the mass trade union organisations of the working class in Western Germany have come into action in the struggle for wages; and their strikes have revealed to the world how the so-called 'economic miracle' of Western Germany, initially built up on the Hitlerite loot of Europe, and fostered with lavish American credits and capital, has been carried forward through the ruthless low-wage exploitation of the West German workers. The trading demand of business sections for relations with Eastern Europe has reinforced the widespread opposition to the dangerous American orientation of the Adenauer programme. One leading public figure after another, including three ex-Chancellors of the old Weimar Republic (we call attention to the important article of ex-Chancellor Wirth, specially contributed to the current issue of *Labour Monthly*) have criticised the menace of the Adenauer policy, which would keep Germany permanently partitioned, tie the Western half to an American-led military coalition, and make Germany once again a battlefield. The continuing opposition, despite all propaganda, of the majority of the West German population to remilitarisation has been demonstrated in every newspaper testing.

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At the recent Social Democratic Party Congress, the Ollenhauer right-wing leadership was only able to carry the official resolution rejecting E.D.C. after stormy debates against far more drastic resolutions from influential local sections (Essen, Dortmund, Göttingen, Frankfurt) calling for opposition to all remilitarisation.

Peace Advocacy a Crime in Adenauer-Germany

In vain the Nazi-controlled police régime of Adenauer seeks to crush and terrify the popular opposition to remilitarisation, as in the recent trial and sentence of leaders of the Communist Party of Germany to three years imprisonment for the crime of organising a ballot for peace against remilitarisation:—

> The charges arose out of the men's activities on behalf of the Communist-controlled committee for the ballot 'against remilitarisation and for a peace treaty', which was formed in 1950 and prohibited in the Federal Republic in 1951.
>
> The substance of the indictment was that this ballot was nothing less than a conspiracy to overthrow the Federal Republic. The accused were, therefore, charged with preparation of high treason, endangering the State, and secret association.
>
> (*The Times*, August 3, 1954.)

The lid has been blown off the witches cauldron of the Adenauer régime by the action of Adenauer's own Chief of Intelligence, Dr. John, who would certainly be in an unrivalled position to know the facts. By his action in broadcasting the truth he has not only exposed the Nazi character of the Adenauer régime and the war plans associated with E.D.C., he has also demonstrated that in his experienced judgment—the judgment of a man far removed from Communism, and with the direct experience of operating Adenauer's secret police system—a German citizen today can only count on freedom to advocate peace and unity for Germany in the German Democratic Republic.

Rearm Adenauer? Never!

It is in the context of this situation that the delegates to the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference will have to reach their fateful decisions, not merely on Germany and the plan to rearm Nazism in Western Germany—the central question of the present international situation and of the future of war or peace—but thereby also for the future of Britain and of British Labour. What conceivable interest has British Labour or the British people in rearming Adenauer and his Nazi colleagues? All the most disastrous policies which led to the second world war—the anti-

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Soviet mania, the benevolent toleration of Hitler's rearmament and tearing up of the Versailles disarmament clauses, the approval of the armed re-occupation of the Rhineland, non-intervention in Spain, Godspeed to Munich—are repeated and multiplied a hundredfold in the policies which are due to be presented on behalf of the majority of the General Council and the Labour Party Executive, but against the indisputable vehement opposition of the overwhelming majority of the membership wherever that membership is given an opportunity to express its view.

Whither Britain?

We have noted that Britain today, like France, under the pressure of imperious necessity and the most vital needs, has begun, however hesitantly, however partially and inconsistently, to grope towards a different orientation, towards a measure of independence; to resist a little some aspects of the American stranglehold; to essay a little some co-operation with the Soviet Union and China, as with India, for peace. Whatever has been done in this direction by a Churchill or an Eden we can gladly recognise, even at the same time as we maintain our criticism of the fundamental basis of Tory foreign policy, its continuing subservience to the American war alliance, its acceptance of the American atom bomber bases on British soil, its vile colonial record. But even with these partial shifts of policy that have begun—what damning contradictions and inconsistencies riddle them through and through, because the basic line is not yet changed. Consider the hectoring Note to India over Goa on behalf of fascist Portugal, when co-operation with India for peace is vital for Britain in Asia. Consider, above all, the bullying of an unwilling France to enter E.D.C. for the profit of Adenauer, when Adenauer-Germany is the most direct economic and potential military menace to Britain, and the closest co-operation of Britain and France is the indispensable basis, equally to stand up to American pressure, to protect their countries from neo-Nazism in Western Germany, and to make possible, in co-operation with the Soviet Union, collective peace for Europe.

Let Labour Lead

Toryism cannot do the job. Toryism, with the big monopoly interests tied to their American partners, cannot stand for the independence of Britain. It is for the British Labour movement that the historic task and the greatest opportunity of its history now

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arises—to lead the fight for the independence of Britain, in indissoluble unity with all the peoples all over the world still under British rule or domination; to defeat the plans for rearming Nazism and co-operate in establishing collective peace for a united Europe; to end the American domination and military occupation of Britain, the colonial wars and crushing rearmament, and join with other nations in winning the ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons and the reduction of armaments; and on this basis to enter on the path of social and economic progress, and decisive social change in Britain. Such a programme, resolutely espoused with the entire strength of the Labour movement, and corresponding to the deepest instinctive feelings of the masses of the people, could transform the political situation in Britain, bring Toryism crashing, and rally the overwhelming majority of the nation.

The Battle of Brighton and Scarborough

The battle for these aims is the battle of Brighton and Scarborough. The pundits are already casting up beforehand the votes, the mandates, the un-mandated votes, the unknowns, the arithmetic of the outcome. They anticipate close votes and narrow majorities especially on the central issue of rearming Nazism, which has become the heart and core of the present line of battle. It is universally recognised and undisputed on all sides that, if it were only a question of the mandated votes, of the votes cast on the basis of democratic discussion and decisions by the membership in whose names they are cast, there would be no doubt of the result. In the actual mechanics of the existing structure of organisation the battle is tougher. But this much is certain. A goodly army is in the field, larger and stronger this year than the last, as it was last year than the year before. The co-operation of all the most active, serious, fighting sections of the labour movement, of the progressive trade unions, the great body of the divisional labour parties, and the Communist vanguard, is rising and growing stronger, and will further rise and grow stronger, despite all bans and artificial divisions. To this co-operation belongs the future. The obstruction of a narrow right-wing clique cannot for ever bar the road to the destiny of British Labour. To the extent that we build and strengthen and broaden and speed this co-operation, with the Communist Party at its heart, the assured ultimate victory will be the more speedily won, to transform the future for Britain and win for Britain its rightful place to advance with the progressive peoples of the world.

August 16, 1954. R.P.D.

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GERMANY AND EUROPE

Dr. JOSEPH WIRTH

[*Thirty-three years ago (in the same year as this magazine began) Joseph Karl Wirth, a leader of the Catholic Zentrum Party, became Chancellor of the German Reich. His policy then of fulfilment of the Versailles Treaty earned him the hatred of the extreme nationalist (pre-Nazi) organisations. He also established peaceful relations by the (1922) Rapallo agreement with Soviet Russia. In recent years he has been a severe critic of the Schuman plan and of the remilitarisation of Germany. From his home in Düsseldorf, West Germany, Dr. Wirth has sent this article, specially written for Labour Monthly, on the burning issue of present-day international politics.—Ed., L.M.*]

CONFERENCES bring results: and have proved that states with different social systems can very well co-exist in peace. However protracted it may have been, this is the conclusive outcome of the Geneva Conference of the great powers, closing with the truce in Indo-China. Only, it demands a readiness for mutual recognition of the right of self-determination of nationalities.

Favourable conditions, too, have now been created in international relations for the resumption—with fair prospects—of great power conferences on the unsolved problem of Germany. For Europe and for the world it has now become a matter of extreme concern to find a solution to the German problem. A split Germany is a source of danger to the security of Europe and to the peace of the world. A Germany reunited in peace and freedom, a truly democratic Germany, living, after a just treaty of peace, on equal terms amongst the nations of Europe would be a positive guarantee of peaceful co-operation.

More and more numerous are the voices in Western Germany that demand an agreement between the two severed German fragment-states. If amongst the German people as a whole—not only in the East but also in the West of our country—the demand for internal agreement and peaceful reunification is raised unanimously, then soon, such is our hope, a new conference will have to be called for the settlement of the German question, with representatives present from both the German fragment-states. Such a conference, as the example of Indo-China shows, can lead to good results. A

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new international conference, with its aim real European security, and for the settlement of the German question, is on the agenda of world politics.

Instead of a peaceful settlement of the German question through internal agreement and instead of the demand for a peace treaty with Germany, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic (West Germany) for years now has pursued the dangerous policy of E.D.C. and the Bonn Treaty. Unilaterally tied to the system of Western military pacts, West Germany must furnish soldiers and runs the risk of becoming the cockpit in a war serving neither German interests nor the interests of the peoples of Europe nor beyond Europe. Already on August 17, 1950, Dr. Adenauer declared in an interview with the *New York Times*:—

> Our participation in West European armies should be speedily decided, just as concrete measures should be taken for the general West European defence. (Re-translated.)

On the very next day the New York meeting of Foreign Ministers issued a communiqué in which it is stated:—

> The Ministers have recently taken note of opinions expressed inside and outside Germany which plead for German participation in an integrated military formation for the defence of Europe.

The use of German manpower and German auxiliary forces has to be prepared; that was already settled in August, 1950, in New York.

At this stage it is surely not necessary to go into details of the content of the Bonn and Paris treaties. One thing however must again be stated clearly. *The E.D.C. policy upsets the peaceful relations of the European states with each other and make impossible the peaceful reunification of Germany.*

A few years ago I said that making Western Germany a limb of the political and military war apparatus of the Western allies has every prospect of leading to a *war against Russia.* War against Russia means *annihilation of Germany.* Such a war could never be in the interest of the European nations, not to speak of German interests. The E.D.C. undermines the sovereignty of its five and a half Western European member states and makes them entirely dependent on the military (and, of course, economic) interests of a power outside Europe. This splitting asunder of Europe, to be contrived by an enforced confrontation of the five and a half E.D.C. countries against the 26 other European nations would have dangerous consequences in all international fields—economic, cultural, political: in short, dangerous consequences for those friendly relations that the countries of Europe must necessarily have with one another. Within

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the framework of E.D.C. and the Bonn Treaty policy, Federal-Chancellor Dr. Adenauer was the only European statesman to welcome the stationing on German soil of dozens of atom guns and guided atom bombers. The E.D.C. Treaty is supposed to last for 50 years: but the Bonn Treaty for Western Germany has no time limit at all. In spite of the efforts of years—this gentleman Dr. Adenauer uttered his yearnings for rearmament away back in 1948—neither the Bonn Treaty nor E.D.C. has become a reality. All the peoples of Europe, the German people included, have had this degree of success.

E.D.C. and the Bonn Treaty excludes the reunification of Germany and stands in contradiction to the more than ever necessary all-European Pact for securing peace, the sovereignty of all member states and the extension of economic relations.

The peoples of Europe, especially within the E.D.C. countries, recognise more and more clearly that the E.D.C. is not a 'defence pact'. Against whose attack must Western Europe protect itself? My own experience of tens of years tells me that no attack from the Soviet Union threatens. The Rapallo policy of the 'twenties' was successful because the Soviet Union needed peace for the gigantic work of reconstruction and for the improvement of the standard of living of its population. Today, too, war would be an interruption of her great construction plans. The offers to negotiate and the unmistakably conciliatory attitude of the Soviet Union at international conferences emphasise my experiences. To believe that the Soviet Union wants to attack Europe is nonsense.

The E.D.C. and the Bonn Treaty policy only provides a cloak for the sufficiently well-known 'policy of strength' which found its bloody expression in Korea, Indo-China, and Guatemala, and which must not be continued in Europe. The peoples of Europe, no less than the German people, want to live in security and national independence, and want to shape their fate in their own way. They want to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours. The peoples of Europe want neither war preparations on their own soil, nor do they desire the resurgence of German militarism, which—under the cloak of E.D.C. and the Bonn Treaty equally—is favoured by the leading politicians of the U.S.A. and prepared most willingly by Bonn. More than any, the French people grasped the real danger when Adenauer, in agreement with Mr. Dulles, in a radio interview at the beginning of July, 1954, uttered the thought: if France does not soon ratify E.D.C. then it must put up with

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independent rearmament. This means he threatened to re-build the German Wehrmacht one way or another. And nothing is altered if the Bonn leader of the opposition, Ollenhauer, speaks of a coalition army (which in fact consists of national armies) instead of a national army. Quite apart from the fact that a *West German* army led by the generals of the second world war can never be a *national army* (in that it sets itself against the national interests of the German people as a whole) such an army would mean a great danger for all the peoples who in the last war endured under German occupation such unspeakable sufferings.

The German people do not want rearmament in a bisected Germany. The Germans in East and West know that such a rearmament and the participation in a Western military pact system means civil war and war on German soil which would make our homeland a land of scorched earth, of ruins and of death. In the belief that at the provincial elections in North Rhine-Westphalia he would get approval for his home and foreign policy, Federal-Chancellor Adenauer linked these elections with the slogan 'With Arnold for Adenauer'. (Arnold is the C.D.U. prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia.) Adenauer's C.D.U. lost 1,059,000 votes in North Rhine-Westphalia nine months after the federal elections of September, 1953.

Equally the results of the plebiscite on Peace Treaty or E.D.C. prove that the true interests of the German people have nothing in common with the un-German and un-European policy of E.D.C. Western Germany needs in the first place sovereignty so that we are no longer prevented from winning and developing internal agreement in every sphere. The 'policy of force' of the Federal-Chancellor which wants to prevent any understanding of the Germans among themselves has suffered a grievous defeat. One can mention the increasing difficulties of the Bonn régime's policy, which come to the surface in the excited discussions within the government coalition on the *pros* and *cons* of East-West trade. The plans of Dr. Pfleiderer (Free Democratic Party) and of the Eastern Committee of German Economy to start discussions with Moscow have had a considerable response among the people. So too had the speeches of the former Chancellors Dr. Brüning and Dr. Luther.

All these efforts and expressions of opinion tend more and more towards a policy of reconciliation and settlement which we have pursued for some years and which we consider to be the only correct one. This policy is adopted by wider and wider circles. The

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conference of the Evangelical Church in Leipzig (in the German Democratic Republic) for the first time brought together well-known Western German politicians with responsible statesmen of the G.D.R. around one table. Talks began. Their continuance in all spheres should become the order of the day. In the economic field and the cultural—through the conference of writers in Eisenach and other gatherings—a degree of unity, though only in some aspects and in limited discussions, between the two German fragment-states has been achieved. The premises for a genuine policy of understanding between the Germans of East and West are improving. It is high time for the immediate resumption of negotiations with East German representatives on the question of reunification.

The participation of German representatives at new great power discussions must be guaranteed to represent German interests when European security questions are dealt with, and to contribute constructively to discussions on the formation of an all-European organisation. The German economy must be liberated from the Montan Union and from the unbearable embargo restrictions. Trade must develop freely with all those countries who are prepared to enter into economic relations with the Federal Republic on the basis of equality. Constitutional rights as envisaged in the Bonn Fundamental Law (Grundgesetz) must be re-established within the Federal Republic in order to take away the basis for the secret services maintained by foreign powers in the Federal Republic and to put an end to the intimidation and persecution of patriotic and democratic personalities. The territorial sovereignty of the Federal Republic must be re-established and foreign military bases on German soil must be eliminated. That includes of course the withdrawal of occupation troops. The Federal Republic must achieve its financial sovereignty and the budget must be freed of occupation costs and reparations. The right of democratic self-determination must be ensured to the people so that they can freely decide their own destiny.

The occupation statute, E.D.C. and the Bonn Treaty prevent the fulfilment of these demands. Hence these fetters must fall.

There is a genuine alternative to the treaties of Bonn and Paris. It lies in the conclusion of a just peace treaty with the whole of Germany. It lies in the granting of full sovereignty to a democratic Germany reunited in peace and freedom. The demand for a peace treaty and the rejection of the perilous treaties of Bonn and Paris sounds like a mighty clarion call through our whole country. Euro-

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pean security can only be guaranteed through a security pact embracing all European countries and excluding the preponderance of any given state, which would make a division of Europe impossible and guarantee the full sovereignty and equality of each participating country, be it great or small. If the European peoples and their governments resolve, instead of the fatal and dangerous E.D.C. and Bonn Treaty, to adopt a treaty system of common security embracing the whole of Europe, both parts of Germany could, until their reunification, participate in such a treaty. The co-operation of both the governments of Germany in the guaranteeing of European peace would facilitate internal agreement and serve the reunification. After the reunification of Germany and after the establishment of a democratic German government through general, free and secret elections (which must not be allowed to be influenced by occupation powers and militaristic-financial circles), this new united Germany should have a seat and vote in such a European security pact system. A Germany reunited in peace and freedom which does not tolerate militarism or unilateral ties can become, with its neighbours in East and West, a stronger guarantee for the peaceful development of good neighbourly relations in Europe.

The German people must now, through intensified building up of internal agreement, through unwavering rejection of E.D.C. and the Bonn Treaty, through the uncompromising demand for a peace treaty and for genuine European security, serve the cause of peace in Europe and the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland.

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LABOUR PARTY BOOMERANG

E. M. WINTERTON

THE regional conferences called by the Labour Party leaders, during July and August this year, to hear the point of view of Transport House on the question of German rearmament, have proved to be a stunning boomerang. Moreover, they promise to be an historic event in British political life.

This is all the more so because Transport House got the lion's share of all the preliminary publicity. First, in February, came the successive decisions of the Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Parliamentary Party itself and the National Executive Committee, in favour of German rearmament—supported by a series of *Daily Herald* editorials. In March there was a loudly featured special article by Herbert Morrison. On June 18 the B.B.C. put on a special two hours' propaganda programme for German rearmament, in which the Labour leaders took part: and on June 26 Attlee devoted his opportunity for a 'Party political broadcast', not to criticism of the Tories, but to the case for rearming Western Germany.

What has been the upshot? We have up to date the reports of 11 out of the 15 regional conferences; but they are pretty representative, and it is quite certain that, had even one of the others been spectacularly different from the majority in character, the *Daily Herald* would have told us all about it. Here is the story.

East Anglia (Ipswich). Sixty delegates. Hugh Gaitskell, M.P., spokesman for the N.E.C. Only one delegate in the discussion supported him. All others opposed.

Portsmouth. Over 100 delegates. Morgan Phillips spoke for the E.C. He had 45 minutes, delegates were limited to four minutes. Only two spoke for the E.C., well over 20 against. Phillips failed to shake the majority of the delegates.

London and Middlesex. Over 900 delegates. Denis Healey, M.P., put the official view. Every speech but one was against him—and was applauded by the great majority. Chairman refused to put any resolution from the floor.

Birmingham. Not one delegate supported the N.E.C.

East Midlands (Loughborough). Ian Winterbottom, M.P., spoke for the N.E.C. Not one of the 29 delegates who spoke supported the N.E.C.

Manchester. About 600 delegates. Herbert Morrison, M.P., the

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N.E.C. spokesman, received in silence. When he attacked opponents of E.D.C. as pro-Communists he was severely heckled. Tremendous applause for Anthony Greenwood, M.P., who opposed. A railwayman and others told Morrison home truths about Adenauer and the Nazis. The N.E.C. was in a small minority.

Salisbury. J. B. Hynd, M.P., for the N.E.C., produced an uproar when he used Morrison's tactics. Many delegates, including Labour councillors, spoke against the N.E.C.: no one supported it.

Surrey (Dorking). Seventy delegates. R. T. Paget, M.P., spoke three times for the N.E.C., taking up $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours of the $2\frac{1}{4}$-hour conference. He too aroused a storm by trying to 'smear' critics. Only one out of 14 speakers supported the N.E.C. Chairman refused to take a vote.

Merseyside. Five hundred and fifty delegates. Herbert Morrison, M.P., met with loud cries of 'Rubbish!' when he attacked the opposition to German rearmament as undemocratic. Only after five minutes' loud remarks from the floor was A. J. Irvine, M.P., given the chance to put the case against German rearmament. He was loudly cheered. Only one out of 10 speakers supported the N.E.C.

Yorkshire (Hull). One hundred delegates. Woodrow Wyatt, M.P., took $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours to put the case for the N.E.C. Delegates were limited to two minutes each. All spoke against the N.E.C. No vote allowed, but perfectly obvious that, had one been taken, the vote against E.D.C. and German rearmament would have been overwhelming.

West of Scotland (Glasgow). Hugh Gaitskell, M.P., spoke for the N.E.C. A large number of delegates opposed its policy: only one supported Gaitskell.

Thus, up and down the country, it is safe to say that, in assemblies containing several thousands of delegates of local Labour Parties and affiliated organisations, there was a really crushing majority against the whole policy of German rearmament, masked under the disguise of the 'European Defence Community'.

From this unquestionable fact there follow several important lessons—and conclusions for the future.

First. The real voice of the British working class has spoken so loudly that it has shown up the grossly undemocratic procedure of Transport House. This applies, in particular, to the gross trickery adopted on February 23, when a small majority (113-104) in the Parliamentary Labour Party for German rearmament was only secured by the undemocratic Tory device of allowing members of the House of Lords to vote. As the *Economist* wrote at the time

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(February 27), Attlee might have been defeated if 'he had not taken a tip from Lord Salisbury and rallied his backwoods peers'. A similar lurid light is now thrown on the unrepresentative decisions of the Transport Workers E.C., which had never consulted its members: of the N.U.G.M.W. conference, whose branches had similarly never been consulted: and of the Miners E.C., where the majority refused to take a ballot vote of the membership. For, from all reports, it is clear that delegates of the local branches of these three unions, as a rule, pulled their full weight against German rearmament in the local Labour Party discussions which preceded the regional conferences. Neither the N.E.C., nor the Parliamentary Labour Party majority, nor the General Council of the T.U.C., speak for the majority of British trade unionists and Labour Party members in this matter. The appearance of popular support which these bodies gave to Tory-American policy of rearming aggressive German militarism was a sham and a fraud.

Conclusion? Those who use Britain's influence for rearming Germany, today and henceforth, do so in defiance of the express will of the vast majority of the British people—and do so at their peril. For, were the renewed aggression (for which Adenauer and his Nazi gang are preparing) lead to a third world war, those who made it possible by rearming West Germany would be *war criminals,* as certainly as those who used the arms.

Secondly. Despite all the efforts of the Government, the B.B.C., the capitalist press and Transport House to hush up the fact that there is a positive way out to peace for Europe and the world, the rejection by the rank and file of the suicidal policy of rearming German militarism has opened the door to a serious examination and discussion by the people of that way out. It was put forward in February by the Soviet Government at the Berlin Four Power Conference. Its main points were:—

(i) Unification of Germany through free elections—based on (*a*) representatives of the East and West German authorities sitting down together to work out an all-German electoral law and other arrangements for free elections (as the two sides in Indo-China have been doing) (*b*) withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces, apart from *agreed* limited contingents, before elections are held—to ensure that they are really free.

(ii) Pending such reunification of Germany and a peace treaty, occupation forces to be withdrawn within six months, except for *agreed* small contingents; the two German authorities to have police units, 'the strength and armament of which shall be determined by *agreement* among the Four Powers'; four-Power inspection units to supervise the fulfilment of this arrangement in both parts of Germany.

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Posters from GUATEMALA

TIPOGRAFIA NACIONAL—GUATEMALA

J. V. VASQUEZ

The Road to the Atlantic

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GRAFIA NACIONAL—GUATEMALA

and Reform

GUALBERTO CAAL

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(iii) A conference of European States be convened to conclude a Treaty for Collective Security in Europe, open to all States 'without regard to their social systems', within the framework of the United Nations Charter: China and the U.S.A. to have permanent observers in the various bodies set up to give effect to the Treaty; both East and West Germany to participate.

These proposals have since been followed up by the Soviet Government in two Notes.

The first, on July 24, proposed that (i) the Collective Security Treaty should include provisions for the development of trade and other forms of economic co-operation (ii) the conference of European states should be held 'within the next few months' (iii) the U.S.A. should participate, and China should send an observer (iv) the conference should discuss, not only the Soviet proposals, but any other proposals by participating states for a system of collective security in Europe.

The second Note, on August 4, suggested that (i) the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. should meet in August or September, for a preliminary discussion of the proposed conference, 'and of measures to promote its success' (ii) they might also discuss the German question (iii) since, apparently, appropriate conditions for full agreement on the German problem had not yet been created, efforts should be made to agree on particular points 'on which decisions acceptable to all interested parties can already be reached at the present time'. It is noteworthy that, as early as June 13, the Soviet Government had published an official statement offering to establish economic and cultural relations with West Germany.

At the time of writing, the experts of the three Western Powers are busy in London discussing how best to word a reply rejecting the Soviet offers. But this is based on the obviously mistaken assumption that the rank and file of the Labour Party, and the substantial majority of the British people whom they represent, are a flock of dumb sheep driven by crooks in the hands of Transport House.

Conclusion? The rank and file, after their great victory at the regional conferences, should pour in their demands to the Foreign Office, as well as to Transport House, for acceptance of the Four-Power discussion and the European Conference—and for reversal of any decision to reject the Soviet proposals. And delegates to the Scarborough conference of the Labour Party ought to clinch the matter there, by the means fully open to them under Standing Orders.

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Thirdly. The regional conferences and their remarkable outcome represent a new, and higher, stage in the historic struggle between Socialism and Liberalism (masquerading as 'democratic socialism') which is unfolding within the Labour Party. That struggle has expressed itself more and more clearly on particular issues (even if not always grasped as such by all the participants), in the Labour Party annual conference agendas at Morecambe in 1952, at Margate in 1953 and now again for Scarborough in 1954. After Margate, in October and November last year, it took the form of the great revolt of dozens of constituency Labour Parties against the Transport House ban on Dr. Jagan and the shameful co-operation of the Labour Party leaders in the Tory Government's propaganda against the progressive Government in British Guiana: in reality, a revolt involving the whole question of whether British Labour will continue any longer to support imperialist exploitation of the colonies by British investing companies. The regional conferences, behind the particular question of German rearmament, were discussing another basic and historic question—whether on questions of peace and war the British working class will continue any longer to accept the foul 'bi-partisan' tradition of following the ruling class in its adventures, or whether it intends to intervene at last in foreign affairs in its own right, and in its own interests—which are the interests of the immense majority of the British people. On these questions, and on others of importance in home affairs, the Socialist militants who are leading the rank and file in the Labour Party find themselves combatting, not only the avowed champions of capitalism, but their Liberal allies at the top of the Labour Party and trade union machine. And the important new feature is that the militants have learned that they can win—if they push forward firmly enough, and are not frightened off by the charge that they are saying the same as the Communists, the *Daily Worker* and the *Labour Monthly* were saying, two years ago.

Conclusion? That at Scarborough a vigorous policy, based on alliance between militant Labour Parties and progressive-minded trade unions, will bring further victories for Socialism and for peace. Even in the delegations of big unions committed to the most right-wing policies, it will be well known that their own active rank and file think as the left wing thinks (for proof, see the London area of the Transport Workers, 300,000 strong, who opposed German rearmament: or the 78 votes out of 315 cast against German rearmament at the very peculiarly 'representative' General Workers Conference in June). Thus, the militants, both at the Brighton T.U.C.

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and at Scarborough, should remember that it is not true, as often stated since the Indo-China settlement, that 'the guns are silent for the first time since 1939': two of the dirtiest colonial wars in history are still raging—one in Malaya and one in Kenya—and both to our shame are being conducted by British finance-capital, anxious about its investments. Support for the strongest resolutions on this subject on the conference agendas, not the weakest, will bring the best dividends for Socialism. Again, it is the policy of servility towards America which leads to the new military commitments in Cyprus—and in turn to the bludgeoning dictatorship of British militarism and navalism over the Cypriots. To demand repudiation of the Tory Government's actions in Cyprus is bound up with the fight to free Britain from American domination, and to pursue the latter objective without the former means hamstringing the whole struggle.

These are only two illustrations, although important ones, of the great fact in British politics in the autumn of 1954: that the working class militants have the ball at their feet, as never before.

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MAY: *The Bomb*, R.P.D.; *Problems of Organised Labour in the U.S.*, Wm. Z. Foster; *World Security at Geneva*, Quæstor; *Labour Parties Protest Against Rearming Germany*. BOOK REVIEWS: *Selected Works, Vol. I* (Mao Tse-tung); *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire* (Mao Tse-tung); *Who Controls West German Industry?* (L.R.D.); *West Germany Prepares War of Revenge* (Committee for German Unity); reviewed by B. Farrington, I. Montagu, M.M.

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GOA

[In contrast to the imperialist propaganda of the dictator Salazar which has been given a free run in the British newspaper press, we print the opinion of the progressive people of Portugal, as expressed in the May declaration of their (illegal) Communist Party. —Ed., L.M.]

THE Government of Salazar daily keeps the case of Goa before the public at home and abroad, and in doing so tries to hide the truth, to deceive the Portugese people and to drag them into a conflict entirely alien to their real feelings and interests.

Goa and the other Portugese colonies of India are the remnants of the enormous empire conquered by the Portugese from the Asiatic peoples in the course of the voyages of discovery. But today the peoples of Asia want independence, as is shown by the victorious struggles of the peoples of China, Korea, Indo-China, India and those carried on in Malaya, Burma, the Philippines, etc.

In Goa even more than in Portugal itself, the fascist government of Salazar is following a policy of oppression and exploitation of the working people which has made the colonial régime of fascist Portugal deeply hated.

The fact that the Salazar government after the end of the world war submitted entirely to the American imperialists leads it to make over our country and colonies as though these belonged to them, directing the political attitude of the Salazar government in accordance with their sordid interests and against the true interests of the nation, as one may see each day from the acts and statements of a government which is Portugese only in name.

American government circles have sought in every way to bring pressure upon the government of India to take their place in their ranks and on their side, but without success. It was for this reason that the American imperialists decided to use Pakistan and the Portugese colonies in India to encircle the Indian Union. At the same time they seek to line up this country and those colonies as military bases in a great encirclement of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The enormous mineral wealth of Goa in iron and manganese has been handed over by the Salazar government to the American and Japanese trusts which exploit them intensively. No less than 38,000,000 escudos of iron ore for making armaments for the United States and Japan were exported from Goa in 1953 alone. The

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equipment of the port of Mormugao and the recently announced acquisition of the Indian railway line which serves this port was done solely to facilitate the shipping abroad of greater quantities of strategic ores from this colony. This naturally gives rise to fears and discontent among the people of Goa and of the Indian Union.

The presence in Goa of American officers, the hasty construction under American direction of a huge aerodrome near the Indian frontier: the presence in Goa, Damao and Diu of many thousands of soldiers of the Portugese expeditionary force, whose strength has been built up latterly—(the expeditionary forces cost our country the fabulous sum of 468,000,000 escudos between 1950 and 1953); provoking frequent clashes with the population—(which has already led to fatalities) do not reassure the people of Goa and the government of India about the intentions of Salazar's government and his American bosses. Indeed, as Salazar had to admit in his speech of April 12, what India 'fears is the use which might be made of the territory of Goa by the Powers opposed to India's policy'. Goa is an American military base turned against India.

The policy of colonial oppression and fascist persecution of the people of Goa who are struggling for their liberation from the yoke of Salazar, with many arrests and deportations overseas to Angola, savage attacks, unjust fines, a campaign of lies and harrassing measures—all these are creating a dangerous state of tension in Goa between the local population and the fascist régime of the colony, which does not favour a friendly and peaceful solution of the problem.

It was this fascist policy of aggression and provocation which has already led to bloody scenes at Macao and the massacre by the governor of S. Tome of more than 300 unarmed Negroes and which tomorrow, perhaps, may provoke the spilling of more blood in Goa and in other Portugese colonies. For this reason in their Note of February 17 the Indian government told the Salazar government, 'The government of India hopes that the Portugese government will recognise the need to give the people of Goa their normal civil and democratic liberties'. A vain appeal, seeing that the Salazar government will not grant to the people of Goa what they refuse to the people of Portugal.

The Salazar government, according to Salazar himself and his foreign minister, invoke the Atlantic Pact and the English Alliance* in the case of Goa, and threaten India with these pacts. In acting thus the Salazar government intends to avoid peaceful negotiation,

*Chiefly the Anglo-Portugese Treaty of 1642.—Ed., *L.M.*

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to engage in a policy of force and to spread the conflict between our country and India until Goa becomes a source of world war, whose main victims will be the people of Goa and the Portugese. The American rulers are inciting and supporting the war-like attitudes of the Salazar government. They are interested in the mineral wealth and the strategic position of Goa, in blackmailing and exerting pressure upon the government of India, and in creating sources of world war, where other peoples will serve as cannon fodder.

Far from heeding the opinions of those mainly concerned—the inhabitants of Goa—and seeking to negotiate peacefully with India, or submitting the case of Goa to the Security Council, the Salazar government—in order to preserve a military base of special interest to the Americans, and for aggressive purposes, threatens the 360 million Indians with war. In his speech of April 27 last Salazar did not shrink from stating that 'if Portugal had to abandon Goa nothing would remain but a ravaged, deserted land'. Thus it may be seen how the Salazar government, incited by the American imperialists and the warmongers, means to drag our people into military adventures and into an unequal struggle, from which we would emerge in ruinous defeat, and at the same time as they aim at making the case of Goa a seat of world war.

The false patriotism of the Salazar government as regards Goa serves to hide from our people the criminal policy of complete submission to the American imperialists, the handing over of the main wealth of the country and of the colonies to the American trusts and the handing over of military bases on national territory to American troops!

A government which openly has put itself under 'the effective rule of the United States' as Salazar himself has declared it to be, has no right to speak of patriotism. It is enough to recall what happened when the fascists and Japanese aggressors occupied Timor and slaughtered part of the population. Salazar then did not lift a finger for the defence of Timor. On the other hand, he has recently released the traitors who aided the Japanese invaders to massacre the patriots who on their own initiative struggled against the Japanese army of occupation.

The Portugese Communist Party expressing the feelings of the working class and the overwhelming mass of our people, has always declared that it is for the people themselves to decide their own destinies, whatever race they may be, and in all circumstances. As for Goa, only the population of Goa can and ought to decide. Anything contrary to that is violence and oppression. To solve the

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problem of Goa by peaceful and just means it is imperative that negotiations on this matter be entered upon between the government of Portugal and the government of India, and that full freedom be assured to the people of Goa to express their will.

Faithful to the principle of self-determination of the colonial peoples, a principle clearly expressed in the fourth and fifth extended meetings of our Central Committee and in the earlier meetings, the Portugese Communist Party puts before the Portugese people the urgent need to take action to stop the schemes of the Americans from being carried out by the Salazar government. We must defend peace at home and abroad, and safeguard democratic principles; consequently the Salazar government must be compelled to settle the question of Goa—not according to the sordid interests of foreign imperialists and warmongers, enemies of the interests of the Portugese people and of Portugal as a free and independent nation—but according to the true interests of our country, in the cause of peace and democracy.

May, 1954.

The Central Committee of the Portugese Communist Party.

A LABOUR MONTHLY SUBSCRIPTION

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A REPLY ON THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

Mr. George Howell's History of the International Working Men's Association

KARL MARX

[*This month is the ninetieth anniversary of the International Working Men's Association, better known as the First International, founded in London at a meeting in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre. Most of the published statements, leaflets and circulars of the International were written by Karl Marx. In commemoration, we publish an article of Marx, never before reprinted in English and of great interest on the history of the First International.*

After the fall of the Paris Commune a number of right-wing leaders left the International and helped to disrupt it. They attacked the International and Karl Marx with venom. Among them was George Howell: in July, 1878, he wrote an article on the History of the International Working Men's Association in the 'Nineteenth Century'. Marx sent his reply. Knowles, the editor, refused to print it. Mrs. Harriet Law, earlier the only woman member of the General Council, published it in August, 1878, in 'The Secular Chronicle' of which she was the editor.

Marx puts the history of the International in its proper perspective, corrects many errors about it prevalent in his time and shows the significance of the International for the future.—Ed., L.M.]

I BELIEVE it worth while to illustrate by a few notes the most recent contribution—see the *Nineteenth Century* of July last—to the extensive spurious literature on the International's History, because its last expounder, Mr. George Howell, an ex-workman and ex-member of the General Council of that Association, may erroneously be supposed to have drawn his wisdom from sources not generally accessible.

Mr. Howell sets about his 'History' by passing by the facts that, on September 28, 1864, I was present at the foundation-meeting of the International, was there chosen a member of the provisional General Council, and soon after drew up the *Inaugural Address*, and the *General Statements* of the Association, first issued at London in 1864, then confirmed by the Geneva Congress of 1866. So much Mr. Howell knew, but, for purposes of his own, prefers to make 'a German Doctor named Karl Marx' first appear at the London 'Con-

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gress opened on September 25, 1865'. There and then, he avers, the said 'doctor' had 'sown the seeds of discord and decay by the introduction of the *Religious Idea*'.

In the first instance, no 'congress' of the International took place in September, 1865. A few delegates from the main continental branches of the Association met at London for the sole purpose of confering with the General Council on the Programme of the 'First Congress', which was to assemble at Geneva, in September, 1866. The real business of the Conference was transacted in private sittings, not at the semi-public meetings in Adelphi Terrace, exclusively made mention of by the exact historian, Mr. George Howell.

Like the other representatives of the General Council, I had to secure the acceptance by the Conference of our own programme, on its publication thus characterised in a letter to the *Siecle*, by the French historian, Henri Martin:—

> The breadth of view and the high moral, political, and economic conceptions which have decided the choice of questions composing the programme of the International Congress of Workingmen, which is to assemble next year, will strike with a common sympathy all friends of progress, justice and liberty in Europe.

The programme of the General Council contained not one syllable on 'Religion', but at the instance of the Paris delegates the forbidden dish got into the bill of fare in store for the prospective Congress, in this dressing: 'Religious Ideas (not 'The Religious Idea', as Howell's spurious version has it) their influence on the social, political and intellectual movement.' The topic of discussion thus introduced by the Paris delegates was left in their keeping. In point of fact, they dropped it at the Geneva Conference of 1866, and no one else picked it up. The London 'Congress' of 1865, the 'Introduction' there by 'a German Doctor named Karl Marx' of the 'Religious Idea', and the fierce feud thence arising within the International—this, his triple myth, Mr. George Howell caps by a legend. He says:—

> In the Draft-Address to the American people with regard to the abolition of slavery, the sentence, 'God made of one blood all nations of men,' was struck out, etc.

Now the General Council issued an address, not to the American people, but to its President, Abraham Lincoln, which he gracefully acknowledged. The address, written by me, underwent no alteration whatever. As the words 'God made of one blood all nations of men' had never figured in it, they could not be 'struck out'. The attitude of the General Council in regard to the 'Religious Idea' is clearly shown by the following incident: One of the Swiss branches

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of the *Alliance*, founded by Michael Bakunin, and calling itself '*Section des athées Socialistes*', requested its admission to the International from the Geneva Council, but got the reply: 'Already in the case of the Young Men's Christian Association the Council has declared that it recognises *no theological sections*. (See page 3 of *Les Pretendues scissions dans l'Internationale Circular du Conseil Général*, printed at Geneva.)'

Even Mr. George Howell, at that time not yet become a convert by close study of the *Christian Reader*, consummated his divorce from the International, not at the call of the 'Religious Idea', but on grounds altogether secular. At the foundation of the *Commonwealth* as the 'special organ' of the General Council, he canvassed keenly the 'proud position' of Editor. Having failed in his 'ambitious' attempt, he waxed sulky, his zeal grew less and less, and soon after he was no more heard of. During the most eventful period of the International he was therefore an outsider.

Conscious of his utter incompetence to trace the history of the Association, but at the same time eager to spice his article with strange revelations, he catches at the appearance, during the Fenian troubles,* of General Cluseret† in London, where, we are told, at the Black Horse, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, the General met 'a few men—fortunately Englishmen', in order to initiate them into his 'plan of a general insurrection'. I have some reason to doubt the genuineness of the anecdote, but suppose it to be true, what else would it prove but that Cluseret was not such a fool as to intrude his person and his 'plan' upon the General Council, but kept both of them wisely in reserve for 'a few Englishmen' of Mr. Howell's acquaintance, unless the latter himself be one of these stout fellows in buckram who, by their 'fortunate' interference, contrived to save the British Empire and Europe from universal convulsion.

Mr. George Howell has another dark secret to disclose.

At the beginning of June, 1871, the General Council put forth an *Address on the Civil War in France*, welcomed on the part of the London press by a chorus of execration. One Weekly fell foul of the 'infamous author', cowardly concealing his name behind the screen of the General Council. Thereupon I declared in the *Daily News* that I was the author. This stale secret Mr. George Howell

*The most active section of the Irish Nationalists in the struggle for independence from 1867-1876, called themselves Fenians.

†General Cluseret, G.P. (1823-1900). French officer, member of the Paris Commune where he commanded the defence, but was removed on suspicion of treason. After the fall of the Commune escaped to England and America; when he returned to Europe joined the followers of Bakunin in the International and fought against Marx.

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reveals, in July, 1878, with all the consequentiality of the man behind the curtain. 'The writer of that *Address* was Dr. Karl Marx . . . Mr. George Odger* and Mr. Lucraft,† both of whom were members of the Council when it (sic!) was adopted, repudiated it on its publication.' He forgets to add that the other 19 British members present acclaimed the *Address*. Since then, the statements of this *Address* have been fully borne out by the *Enquètes* of the French Rural Assembly, the evidence taken before the Versailles Courts-Martial, the trial of Jules Favre, and the memoirs of persons far from hostile to the victors. It is in the natural order of things that an English historian of Mr. George Howell's sound erudition should haughtily ignore French prints, whether official or not. But I confess to a feeling of disgust when, on such occasions for instance as the Hoedel and Nobiling attempts,‡ I behold great London papers ruminating the base calumnies, which their own correspondents, eye-witnesses, had been the first to refute.

Mr. Howell reaches the climax of snobbism in his account of the exchequer of the General Council. The Council in its published *Report to the Congress of Bâle (1869)* ridicules the huge treasure with which the busy tongue of the European police and the wild imagination of the capitalist had endowed it. It says, 'If these people, though good Christians, had happened to live at the time of nascent Christianity, they would have hurried to a Roman bank there to pry into St. Paul's balance.' Mr. Ernest Renan,§ who, it is true, falls somewhat short of Mr. George Howell's standard of orthodoxy, even fancies the state of the primitive Christian communes sapping the Roman Empire might be best illustrated by that of the International Sections.

Mr. George Howell, as a writer, is what the crystallographer would call a 'pseudomorph', his outer form of penmanship being but imitative of the manner of thought and style 'natural' to the English moneyed man of sated virtue and solvent morals. Although he borrows his array of 'figures' as to the resources of the General Council from the accounts yearly laid by that same Council before a public 'International Congress', Mr. George Howell must not derogate from his 'imitative' dignity by stooping to touch the obvious question: how came it to pass that, instead of taking comfort

*George Odger (1820-1877), shoemaker, secretary of the London Trades Council, one of the organisers of the foundation of the International. He left the International in 1871.

†Benjamin Lucraft (1809-1897). Furniture worker, one of the organisers of the foundation of the International. Delegate to a number of congresses.

‡Hoedel and Nobiling attempted in June, 1878, to assassinate Emperor Wilhelm I, and Bismarck tried to use this as a pretext to attack the German Social Democrats.

§Ernest Renan (1823-1892), famous French historian, author of 'The Life of Jesus', etc.

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from the lean budgets of the General Council, all the governments of Continental Europe took fright at 'the powerful and formidable organisation of the International Working Men's Association, and the rapid development it had attained in a few years'. (See *Circular of the Spanish Foreign Minister to the Representatives of Spain in Foreign Countries.*) Instead of laying the Red Ghost by the simple process of shaking at its face the sorry returns of the General Council, why, in the name of common sense, did the Pope and his bishop exorcise the International, the French Rural Assembly outlaw it, Bismarck—at the Salzburg meeting of the emperors of Austria and Germany—threaten it with a Holy Alliance Crusade, and the White Czar commend it to his terrible 'Third Division', then presided over by the emotional Schouvaloff?

Mr. George Howell condescends to admit: 'Poverty is no crime, but it is fearfully inconvenient.' I admit, he speaks by book. The prouder he ought to have felt of his former fellowship with a Working Men's Association, which won world-wide fame and a place in the history of mankind, not by length of purse, but by strength of mind and unselfish energy.

However, from the lofty standpoint of an insular 'philistine', Mr. George Howell reveals to the 'cultured people' of the *Nineteenth Century,* that the International was a 'failure', and has faded away. In reality, the social democratic working-men's parties organised on more or less national dimensions, in Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Holland and the United States of America, form as many international groups, no longer single sections thinly scattered through different countries, and held together by an eccentric General Council, but the working masses themselves in continuous, active, direct intercourse, cemented by exchange of thought, mutual services, and common aspiration.

After the fall of the Paris Commune, all working-class organisation in France was of course temporarily broken, but is now in an incipient state of reforming. On the other hand, despite all political and social obstacles, the Slavs, chiefly in Poland, Bohemia and Russia, participate at present in this international movement to an extent not to be foreseen by the most sanguine in 1872. Thus, instead of dying out, the International did only pass from its first period of incubation to a higher one where its already original tendencies have in part become realities. In the course of its progressive development, it will yet have to undergo many a change, before the last chapter of its history can be written.

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A VISIT TO CHARLIE CHAPLIN

S. GERASIMOV

THE whole world knows Charlie Chaplin. He began his work when film art was only just beginning to take shape. Naturally talented, Charlie divined the great fascination of the new art and in his first experiments in short comic films at once won the heart of the film-goer. His popularity grew yearly throughout the world. Scores and hundreds of comics imitated him in cinema, theatre and circus. The picture of the little man, so touchingly and painstakingly fighting against life's vicissitudes called forth the sympathy of people of all kinds. Charlie's bowler, ill-fitting frock-coat and splay-toed boots, his blobby moustache and the sad, kindly, ever-inquiring expression of the eyes (which appear to be black but are actually blue), his timid and uncertain gait, desperate, super-human courage, and the virtuosity of his tricks created an inimitable combination of the comic and touching, the stupid and wise, and made the image and name of Charlie Chaplin truly universal.

Years passed and film-goers, who had everywhere recognised Chaplin as a great comic artist, came to know him as a sagacious writer and producer. Chaplin's fame was further established when he produced the entrancing picture 'Woman of Paris'. This film revealed his talent to the full, and depicted the full meaning of life and great love for the ordinary man. It is full of bitterness and passion and irony; it is a story of jilted love and jealousy, the tragic story of the buying and selling of a woman's life. One might say this is nothing new, but with the strength which only cinematography can provide, Chaplin revealed in the film the inhuman side of the capitalist world where everything can be bought and sold, and where lonely souls in search of truth, insulted and tortured by floods of lies and outrages against their human dignity, put an end to their own lives.

This picture astounded the world for two reasons: it showed Chaplin's real outlook and, as it were, explained the bitter humour of his earlier little comedies; at the same time it revealed fully his gifts as a realist artist passionately striving after the truth and fully aware of the injustice which exists in the old world. Since then Chaplin's audiences have adored him as a true and consistent fighter for truth and human happiness. In all his subsequent films Chaplin criticises his own society, at times revealing behind an ironic jest

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the deep contradictions of the capitalist system, its meanness and cruelty towards the toiler doomed to poverty and misery and denied of his rights.

Two of his famous films, 'City Lights' and 'Modern Times', are particularly well known to Soviet film-goers and highly appreciated by them. They have been shown many times and always to crowded houses, and the audiences have always gone away with eyes full of tears, for in spite of all the eccentricity of Chaplin's methods as an artist, the film-goer has always seen before him living destinies revealed with insuperable skill. The film 'Modern Times' gives a complete picture of the awful machine of exploitation. The audience can never forget the allegorical image of the little man literally swallowed up in the pinions and rollers of machinery. During the war years Chaplin created his widely-known film 'The Great Dictator', in which he mercilessly ridiculed the half-insane Hitler by exposing all the stupidity of his 'idea' of conquering the world.

Every new work Chaplin produced brought him new friends and new enemies. American capital quite rightly regarded Chaplin as its stern judge and declared relentless war on him. His films were boycotted. He became the victim of constant attacks and slanders. Artist and realist, he courageously went on with his work, continued to live and create in Hollywood, where everything was against his art and his plans. Each year the conflict sharpened leading up to the logical finale when Chaplin found himself outside the United States.

Chaplin's enemies in America took advantage of his trip to Europe and hurriedly closed against him the doors of the very country to which he had brought so much fame by his many years of work and his genuine talent. American reaction's Pyrrhic victory aroused bitter scorn throughout the world. The American obscurantists truly had to have lost their heads completely to make such a public and blatant demonstration of impotent fury in the face of truth, wisdom and talent. Charlie Chaplin returned to London, his old birthplace in England. Later he moved to the little town of Vevey, not far from Lausanne on the beautiful shores of Lake Geneva in Switzerland.

Truth cannot be destroyed. Chaplin's truth was banished from America, but it has remained with him, he has brought it to Europe and it nourishes his new plans which, as before, are aimed against idleness, meanness and the enslavement of man by man. People all over the world who follow with great sympathy the destiny of this

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much loved artist are overjoyed to find that in his latest work, 'Limelight', Chaplin again shows himself to be a true humanist, a man with a great heart devoted wholly as hitherto to those who are dispossessed, humiliated and insulted. In gratitude to the artist for his loyalty to truth and his sincere humanism, the peoples of the world have offered him their own special award.

At the Berlin session of the World Peace Council, the judges on the selection panel announced that they had unanimously decided to award the 1953 Peace Prize to Charlie Chaplin, who gratefully accepted this token of the respect and recognition of the peoples. It was in this connection that we were afforded an opportunity of meeting him in his home on the shores of Lake Geneva.

The house Charlie Chaplin lives in stands in a large magnificent park on the slopes of a mountain, overlooking the lake. Here it is good to think, to work and to rest. Here it is quiet and peaceful. The sound of cars on the main road skirting the edge of the lake are here inaudible. Scarcely had we entered the park than we heard the youthful, ringing laughter which, once heard, can never be forgotten. Chaplin's hair is now quite white, but standing there, surrounded by guests on the green lawn, he was as young and lively as ever. His visitors were members of the Chinese delegation to the Geneva conference, who had come from Geneva to greet the great artist. Chaplin had given them a warm welcome and was chatting with them, probably about his new film; as he talked he punctuated his story with gestures and striking imitations. His guests were laughing and his laughter mingled with theirs. Soon the Chinese friends departed and we stayed behind to offer greetings to Chaplin from the many millions of Soviet film-goers who know Chaplin's splendid immortal films and love them so well. We talked about film art, concerning which so much has to be done in our age of struggle for peace and friendship among peoples.

Films are Chaplin's whole life. He can talk endlessly about film; but when he refers to his old films his eyes, the corners of his mouth, the slight movement of the fingers help to conjure up his favourite scenes, those which he himself considers to be most successful. It always gives great pleasure to artists to recall real art. But to be with Chaplin, recalling his films, is sheer delight. One can experience again and again the supreme humaneness of his subjects, which mingle joy with sorrow; again and again one is struck by the brilliance of his fantasy, by the exact timing of each comic trick, and every detail. In such moments, expansive and lively as he is by nature, he seems to fall silent and listen, nodding his head, while his

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blue eyes, still quite youthful, alternately fill with tears or sparkle merrily. Then he jumps again to his feet to show how it was all done.

We talked about how good it would be if people could meet as we were doing (only not just two people or three) and have a good talk about film art, about the ideas and plans of the scenario writers and producers of different countries whose job it is to create works of art in these important years when the fate of mankind is in the balance. Charlie Chaplin says that art can do a great deal to bring people, their opinions and views, closer together. One cannot overestimate the part it plays in man's struggle for peace and friendship. We talked of the possibility of such a meeting, and as I looked at Chaplin I could not help thinking that he should be the man to preside over such a friendly gathering.

Every epoch produces artists who are universally recognised. Such an artist is, without doubt, Charlie Chaplin, the true friend of the ordinary man, the tireless fighter for his happiness, and the worthy holder of the 1953 Peace Prize.

From *Izvestiya,* June 20, 1954.

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Two Plays About Malaya, by M. Brand and L. Richardson. Lawrence & Wishart. 144 pp. 12s. 6d.
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FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS . . .

Since the bulk of the Korean workers are absolutely illiterate, recruited for the factories straight from the villages, the Japanese capitalists can exploit them at their will. As working hours are unregulated, the average working day is 12 hours and frequently as high as 15. The men have to work in truly appalling conditions, there being no labour protective laws or sanitary measures. . . . It was only recently that a start was made to organise the working class of Korea. Soon after the March days of 1919 the workers organised mutual aid and friendly societies (the membership consisting of workers, peasants, members of the middle class and the petty bourgeoisie), which immediately came under the influence of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia. It is plain, of course, that this prevented them from properly defending the interests of the proletariat and they soon fell asunder. . . . Thanks to the lead given by the illegal Communist groups, the foremost elements among the workers began to realise that better organisation was necessary. A start was made to amalgamate the various workers' and peasants' unions and a Workers' and Peasants' Federation was formed at a legal Congress in 1924 embracing 220 workers' and peasants' organisations. In view of their different interests and functions, the workers' and peasants' unions affiliated to the Federation seriously considered the formation of two independent federations for the workers and the peasants—which were duly formed in 1927.

The Gendzan strike that occurred this year certainly opens a new stage in the development of the workers' movement in Korea. The proletariat of this country has shown that it is a definite social force able to take up its proper place in the struggle for the Korean Revolution. Of course, the workers' movement, as a social factor, is only just beginning to take shape and form. All the foremost elements among the workers are now confronted with the difficult task of lining up the workers in the unions, of educating them in a militant spirit and to outlive all the prejudices and lies fostered by the Japanese imperialists and their own bourgeoisie to unite all the workers to defend the interests of their class and their country. The proletarian discipline and solidarity seen already in Korea shows clearly that only the workers can unite all the various elements of the national-revolutionary movement and lead them to victory.

From *Korea—The World of Labour,* by Asagiri, September, 1929.

CORRECTIONS

Page 344, line 20, for '*Daily Express*' read 'the *Daily Sketch* and almost all'.
Page 380, first column, line 16, instead of 'in July, 1939,' read 'early in 1939'.

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Book Reviews

CHEQUERED CAREER

Alexander Somerville: The Autobiography of a Working Man. Edited, and with an Introduction by John Carswell. (283 pp. Turnstile Press. *10s. 6d.*)

ALEXANDER SOMERVILLE (The Whistler at the Plough) was a Scottish agricultural labourer who joined the Scots Greys in 1831. During the Reform Bill agitation, his regiment was stationed at Birmingham, and in May, 1832, Somerville wrote his famous letter to the *Weekly Dispatch,* in which he stated that the Scots Greys would not allow themselves to be used against the legitimate reform movement of the Birmingham people. When the authorship of the letter was discovered, Somerville was court-martialled on a trumped-up charge and awarded a sentence of two hundred lashes, of which he received a hundred. The country, when it learnt of the flogging, was outraged, and Somerville of the Scots Greys became a national hero.

Had the story ended there, Somerville would have been remembered as a man of great courage and a victim, one of the many in its history, of the Army's prejudice, stupidity, and cruelty. But his career did not end at this point, and for the next twenty years his role in national politics places him outside the ranks of those to whom we pay tribute as pioneers of our labour and democratic movement.

It is necessary to state the facts upon which such a judgment is based, for there is some likelihood, to which Mr. Carswell contributes, that a myth is in process of creation around the story of Somerville. In his book *Disagreements* (London, 1950) and later in a review of the *Autobiography* in *Tribune* (October 19, 1951), Mr. R. C. Churchill likens Somerville to Cobbett and suggests that he 'is worthy of a higher place in our history of liberty than has hitherto been granted him. . . .' Mr. Carswell, in his Introduction to the present volume, writes that Somerville's 'practicality, his unlikeable uprightness and attention to duty, his scorn of the "physical force" Chartists, all suggest a potential Communist born out of his time', a statement which, it may be remarked, illustrates well enough the confusions within Mr. Carswell.

Now Somerville, on at least one occasion, was, at best, an informer on what might be called private account, at worst, he was a government spy and *agent provocateur.* This was in 1834, when he warned the government of the revolutionary consequences that were to follow the great Trades demonstration against the conviction of the Tolpuddle martyrs, consequences conjured up from what even Richard Cobden noted was an oversize imagination, and which were as falsely alleged as those supposed to occur on April 10, 1848. His role in 1839 is more obscure, although contemporaries later believed him to have been a government agent. He became the paid hack of the Anti-Corn Law Leaguers at a time when the 'millocracy' were hated by all that was best in the working class movement. He attacked the Chartists constantly in the columns of middle class newspapers, receiving in return, in late 1847, a drubbing from Feargus O'Connor that is still worth reading today. In the *Northern Star* and in speeches before crowded audiences, O'Connor denounced Somerville as 'this fellow (who) has been the hired instrument of any party standing in need of a good ruffian',

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sentiments which were echoed by the Chartists up and down the country and supported by numerous letters published in the *Star*. There is a good deal of evidence in the files of the *Northern Star*, October-December, 1847, that Mr. Carswell might have used to complete his picture of the Whistler; he might too, have remarked upon the newspaper reports of a court proceeding in 1841, when Somerville was successfully accused at the Mansion House with swindling his Spanish legion comrades of the gratuities from the Spanish government to which they were entitled. (Mr. Carswell will find full details in the radical *Weekly Dispatch* for August, 1841, beginning with the issue of August 8, under a paragraph headed 'Tricks of the notorious Alexander Somerville'.)

There is much, in short, that Mr. Carswell has omitted from his Introduction, and the result is an inaccurate description of the man, and a false analysis of the place of Somerville in the history of the English labour movement. But despite the errors and distortions, and the superficiality of the Introduction, this reprint of Somerville's *Autobiography* was well worth producing. Somerville had a considerable literary talent that makes these reminiscences of a labourer's life in Scotland in the early decades of the 19th century a most moving story. His account of army life is confirmation, if any is needed, of the tradition of stupid, senseless routine to which the Army clings so tenaciously. The description of his flogging is a most effective piece of writing, horrifying in its exact and vivid creation of atmosphere. The *Autobiography*, despite its author's later history, is one of those books which help to remind us of the conditions under which the common people suffered in the past and of the long, bitter road the democratic movement has travelled to the present.

JOHN SAVILLE

CHINESE NOVEL

The Sun Shines Over the Sangkan River, by Ting Ling. (348 pp. Collet's. *3s. 6d.*)

THE first book I ever reviewed for the *Labour Monthly* was Edgar Snow's immortal *Red Star Over China*. I remember as I read it how incompetent I felt to do it justice—how difficult it was to convey the tremendous new world which was opened up through its pages. It awakened in me a profound admiration and love for the Chinese people and a desire to learn everything I could about their march towards Socialism, an admiration and love which was, of course, intensified by my visit to China two years ago.

I found Ting Ling's book quite fascinating. It is, briefly, the story of land reform in China as it applied to one particular village. I spent hours in railway trains with Chinese students who had taken part in the land reform campaign, hearing their stories and learning of their difficulties. I met a 'reformed landlord', no doubt originally a very similar gentleman to Landlord Chiang, chief villain of Ting Ling's book. I came back armed with facts and figures, but this book animates the lifeless facts and puts flesh and bone on the inanimate statistics.

First of all, I found it a little confusing to follow. There are so many characters, with their similar and unfamiliar Chinese names, so that I found myself continually turning back to the list of characters. Then for some time I was a little bewildered as to exactly what was happening and who was who. Only after reading for several hours did I

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discover that the Introduction, giving in brief what *The Sun Shines Over the Sangkan River* is all about, was printed as the end of the book. After reading that, everything was plain sailing, so turn to the end of the book first and I hope that any future translations of Chinese novels will put the introduction at the beginning instead of the end!

It is also very obvious that this book was not primarily written for foreign readers. It is an attempt—and a most successful one—to portray in literary form, and to preserve for future generations, the historic epoch of land reform. It assumes a knowledge that few foreign readers will have of the forms of peasant and Communist Party organisation in the villages, particularly the vital role of the cadres, around whom the book centres and whose development is vital to the success of the struggle against the landlords and their hangers-on. Let no-one, however, be discouraged from reading this book for that reason. Even without this knowledge, it is impossible not to be moved by the warm love of humanity which pulses throughout the narrative, or delighted by Ting Ling's mastery of artistic expression.

It would be a serious omission not to pay the highest tribute to the translators. Just occasionally a peasant uses a polished, cultured phrase which has probably been 'improved' upon the original expression, but in comparison with the overwhelming majority of translations—particularly, one could recall, translations of early Soviet novels—this runs smoothly, intelligibly, with none of those glaring patches of 'translateese' which grate upon the ear and break the thread.

Ting Ling's book is a most pleasant, easy and adequate way of learning what Chinese land reform is all about. If we don't know about it, we cannot grasp how the power of the Chinese ruling class, and with it, traditions going back thousands of years, has been broken in so short a time. Land reform is the basis which has made possible the development of Chinese industry and opened the road to Socialism. It is the success of land reform in China that has aroused the greatest interest and curiosity on the part of Asia's impoverished, land-hungry exploited peasants, and made the name of Mao Tse-tung loved and revered by millions of Asiatics outside China. *The Sun Shines Over the Sangkan River* won a Stalin prize in 1951, and is worthy of a place with all the other great novels portraying the gigantic upheavals and developments in this, the most exciting period in human history. And in no country are they more dramatic and world-shaking than in China. MARJORIE POLLITT

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TRANSFORMATION OF A COLONY

A People Reborn: The Story of North Ossetia, edited by Andrew Rothstein. (64 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. *2s. 6d.*)

THE number of British delegations that have visited the U.S.S.R. since the end of the second world war must by now be considerable, and it grows every year. Most of these delegations have produced reports and very valuable documents they have been; anybody who had a complete collection of them would find himself in possession of an extensive store of information about the Soviet lands and their peoples and their way of life. Necessarily, however, they are repetitive; most of them cover the same kind of ground in the same kind of way and, since the delegations now go with such extreme regularity, even the development of Soviet life cannot be expected to have moved decisively between each report.

It is for this reason that the delegation appointed jointly by the British Soviet Friendship Society and the Scotland U.S.S.R. Friendship Society which made its visit in December last, is to be congratulated on having produced an entirely new kind of report. It has concentrated on one area it visited, the North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and written a report upon that alone. Under the ever able leadership of Mr. Andrew Rothstein a team of 11 writers have not only recorded what they saw in Ossetia, but have taken the trouble to come home and do some work so that we are treated, after an illuminating introduction by the editor, to a fascinating, if all too short, review of Ossetian history before we go on to 'a day in an Ossetian village', and small but valuable dissertations on agriculture, the position of women, health and child-welfare, education, culture and democracy, before coming, as a charming 'make-weight' at the end, to a section on 'Shakespeare in North Ossetia'.

The booklet cries out for the widest possible circulation. The people it describes, one of the least known of the Caucasian mountain peoples, had been persecuted for generations. It was a *colonial* people and was treated as such; indeed, at the turn of the century it seemed likely to go the way of the Australian bushman and the American Indian. Now the Ossetian people flourish—in a world in which the colonial question is the fundamental question which has to be solved if all the peoples are to live. South Africa, Kenya, Cyprus—Ossetia. It is an illuminating contrast.

STANLEY EVANS

PRISONERS OF WAR IN KOREA

Plain Perfidy, by Alan Winnington and Wilfred Burchett (210 pp., illustrated. British-China Friendship Society. *2s.*).

IF, towards the end of the Korean war, you found yourself wondering how it was possible for 23,000 North Koreans and Chinese to be forced against their will into the arms of the R.O.K. and the Formosa regime, this is the book for you. As the authors say at one point in relation to the prisoner-of-war question: 'It was impossible for a newspaper reader, or a radio listener in the Western world to pick his way through the maze of lies and half-truths, the noble phrases, and get to the real truth, which was entirely suppressed in the Western Press.'

Plain Perfidy is designed to provide a guide to some of the foulest crimes

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in the calendar of this century, amongst others the cold-blooded murder and terrorisation of masses of prisoners ostensibly under United Nations' control but, in fact, ruled by methods taken from the Belsen era by United States and Kuomintang agents. The book's strength lies particularly in the section dealing with the machinery of 'explanations' which describes and analyses in simple but moving terms the conditions which made it practically impossible for men to rejoin their homeland. The sense of burning indignation which one feels on reading this book is accompanied by the conviction that these horrors are what lie in store for the people of any Asian nation caught up in the war drive of U.S. imperialism, which obviously based its attitude towards the Korean and Chinese soldiers on the fascist belief that they were of an inferior race, and therefore entitled to treatment that was something less than human. Against the background of the tortuous and treacherous juggling with human lives carried on by the U.S. Command the integrity and courage of the Korean and Chinese people shine like a beacon-light.

T.McW.

SOVIET JOURNEY

Quest for Life, by S. Mahmuduzzafar. (People's Publishing House, Ltd., Bombay. *Rs. 1·8.*)

HERE is another book on the Soviet Union, but with a difference from previous ones. The excellent and lively sketches which the author had drawn appear throughout the book and portray personalities and scenes in the Soviet Union—which he visited, along with his wife, to obtain special medical treatment for her. The description of the journey from Bombay to Moscow is interesting, showing the special care and attention given to a sick person travelling through the new democracies and in the Soviet Union. The thrill of arriving is vividly described, as also the attention given to Rashida Jahan, the wife of the author. The disease from which she suffered had passed beyond all human possibility of treatment, and after some days she passed away. S. Mahmuduzzafar stayed on and travelled widely, including Georgia and Uzbekistan. The chapter on Uzbekistan, previously a subject country under Tsarist rule, is of particular interest, especially for Indian people, because of the way its problems have been solved. The people had lapsed into illiteracy, poverty, ill-health and stagnation; all this is now swept away and a vivid description is given of the industrial and cultural development.

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THE LAND

Marginal Land in Britain, by W. Ellison. (224 pp. G. Bles. *25s.*)

LEADERS of the Tory Party and the Labour Party have given up paying anything but lip-service to the need to produce more food in Britain. But the need is a real one, both for the economic health of the country, and the real health of its people. Agricultural expansion involves getting more from land already in use, and using more land. The question of 'Marginal Land' is therefore half the battle. Mr. Ellison has given a painstaking study of the problem, helpful in the study of agricultural policy. Marginal land is usually associated with hill farming, because here there is a physical margin of use, which can be extended by pushing it up the hills. But there are other types of marginal land, and the writer describes them clearly. The most useful chapter of the book gives estimates of the increases in production which could be achieved by various methods of improvement, including use of fertilisers, cultivation, and re-seeding. One of these tables shows an average increase, over six years, in the two areas in Wales and one in S.W. England, of 270 per cent. (p. 154). There are detailed estimates also of costs, and a very strong case made out that improvement schemes even on present lines, are well worth while. This is all the more significant, because the writer's calculations are strictly within the present system, without any changes in land ownership or reorganisation of farm units. He makes only one casual reference to Co-operation in the whole book. His work thus shows that given a progressive agricultural policy, including nationalisation of the large estates, and state encouragement of co-operation, our hill and other marginal lands could provide us with a vast and economic source of more food.

J.D.

WORKERS AND STUDENTS

Students, by Yuri Trifonov. (498 pp. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Russia Today Book Club, *3s.*)

THE story is set in the Literature Faculty at the Moscow Institute of Education and the author draws on his own experiences as a student after the war.

The novel pictures close relations between students and workers. The Literary Department is attached to a local factory where the students keep on close terms with the young workers there in order to draw material for their work from real life. (No ivory tower æstheticism here!) And when they prepare papers, young workers are invited to the Institute to participate in the criticism. Vadim, the central character, visited a factory literary circle to read a paper on Mayakovski. He misunderstood his audience, tending to talk down to them when in fact these fitters, mechanics and machine operators read the same books as he did and were interested in the same things. Many of them were themselves studying—at evening schools and institutes. But he learnt from his experience.

The book also gives us a fascinating glimpse 'behind the scenes' of the intellectual controversies in the Soviet Union, and the relations of students with lecturers and professors. The only criticism I would make is that, perhaps, in the course of the description of such a wide field of student life, the characterisation of individual personalities does not go as deep as one might wish.

MONTY JOHNSTONE

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think they will find it most handy to keep with their pocket diary. It should be a useful and time-saving way of winning new readers.

Facts About the Press

RECENTLY I got a reminder of just how badly needed L.M. is as an antidote to the torrent of propaganda. A foreign visitor asked, what were the circulation figures of the national daily and Sunday papers? I looked it up for him. Here are the figures. Each day 13,250,000 national daily papers are sold, excluding the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Worker;* some 29,000,000 copies are sold of the Sunday papers, excluding *Reynolds.* In addition of course there are the vast sales of the cheap weeklies, evening newspapers and provincial dailies. I was obliged to agree that it would be hard to find an issue which did not contain some item misrepresenting the progressive movement abroad or the Labour movement at home, in one guise or another. Our overseas friend was staggered at the figures: 'However can the average Britisher keep a cool head and a sound judgment under such a Niagara?' he exclaimed. But once people glimpse truth! A Londoner had only to show a friend Toriello's article, and 'his whole attitude has changed'.

Who? When? Where?

READERS might like to guess who made the following topical remarks:

(*a*) 'Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present prominent trade position can be maintained and panic avoided.'

(*b*) 'Having a large capital at stake in the cotton manufactures of this city and also as a magistrate of the county, I beg to call your attention to the insubordination of the working classes in the district.'

(*c*) 'Whatever the outcome of the war, America has embarked on a career of imperialism in world affairs. Southward in our hemisphere and westward in the Pacific, the path of empire takes its way.'

(*a*) W. H. Page, Ambassador in Britain, to President Wilson; March 5, 1917. (*b*) H. Houldsworth, of Glasgow, to Home Secretary Peel; April 19, 1823. (*c*) Virgil Jordon, Address to Investment Bankers; December 10, 1940.

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A SPECIAL word of thanks to the Lancashire pensioner who sends to the fund 5s. 'out of my holiday money'. July total was:

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